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*Method of wearing the hair.*—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

*Earrings and bracelets.* At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

*Arm bands and necklaces.*—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 293

*Headdress and taildress.*—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 293), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

## HUNTING

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink, marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

*Bow.*—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

*Arrows.*—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ña° p'axe'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'°sunte p'a''u°*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma° k'eteñak cako'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai° su'ra*, or *mai°so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma° p'a''una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

*Traps.*—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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*The bear hunt.* Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wana'tcu'ra*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ⁿcuraz* or *nai'ⁿcuidjo'k'era*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wanatcu'ra* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruʔe* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homaⁿᵉ* (Missouri ?), Waxdoxeq, Iowa, and *Hoᵹᵉᵹᵉdjaᵹᵉra*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated. [727]

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[1]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. [203] Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan. [825 714]

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in one tree, but a really large tree would hold even more. The pigeons were hunted in the following manner: Long poles were taken and the pigeons poked out of their nests. In this manner many would be killed very easily in one day. They are then either broiled or steeped, when they have a delicious taste. Often it is unnecessary to hunt for them after a storm because large quantities die from exposure to inclement weather. 223 [252]

*Method of slaughtering animals.*—According to most of the author's informants, all larger animals were opened by making two long incisions, one on each side of the chest. This information may be accepted as correct with respect to the bear, but there is less certainty as to other large animals. There are two considerations, however, which seem to make the question of agreement among informants of secondary importance: First, the considerable differences in this and kindred matters among the settlements of the Winnebago, due to the large extent of territory they inhabited and the diverse influences potent at various places; and secondly, the fact that the distribution of food was entirely a matter of courtesy between individuals, so that considerable variation in custom was both possible and probable. 252 224

According to one informant the man who killed an animal had the least to say about its distribution and generally got the poorest share. This unquestionably does not give a very accurate impression of the custom, because subsequent questioning brought out clearly the fact that the manner of distribution depended entirely on the number of individuals present at the killing of the animal, and also on the age of these individuals and their social standing. Remembering that there is no "typical" division which an Indian thinks of in the abstract, but that he always has in mind particular instances of distribution, in order to ascertain definite rules it would obviously be necessary to obtain an adequate number of representative cases in which all the possibilities based on the factors of age, number, and social standing would be duly considered. 224 425

From another individual the following information was obtained: When two people went hunting the man who killed the animal received the head, breast, feet, lungs, and heart; his companion, the hide and the rest of the animal. A feast was given afterwards, however, at which the bravest warrior received all that was properly the share of the man who killed the animal. When four went out, the eldest always got the hide; he was granted also the right to apportion the animal. This last instance seems significant in view of the fact that at the tribal hunt the rights of the individual who killed the animal were subservient to many other rights, as those pertaining to seniority and social standing, and suggests that only when one or two individuals took the rather great risks of hunting by themselves was actual killing of the animal deemed of predominating importance in the apportionment.

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224 *Regulation of the tribal hunt.*—It can not be said that there were [721] many special regulations during the tribal hunt. The rules applying to the regulation of war parties held here too. (For a description of these, see p. 156.)

Individuals were strictly prohibited from taking the initiative except by permission. For instance, a man was not allowed to proceed beyond a certain point, or shoot before a certain time; in short, not to do anything by which he might endanger his own life, the safety of his companions, or the success of the hunt, such as scaring away the animals or causing them to stampede.

625 224 614 484 It is during the tribal hunts that the power of the Bear clan is at its height. For this reason it may perhaps be most appropriate to include here a description* of these powers, although this really belongs in the section on Social Organization:

Whenever the Winnebago are on their tribal hunt or whenever they move from one place to another, the soldiers (i. e., the Bear people) take the lead. Whenever they decide to stop at some place, the leader of the Bear people places his stick in the ground and the other soldiers do the same. The line of sticks is a slanting one. The main tribe follows behind at some distance and always camps a little behind them. None of the members of the tribe dare pass ahead of these sticks. If, for instance, during the fall move the tribe were passing through a country in which much game abounded, and if after the tribe had stopped at a certain place anyone should take it upon himself to go ahead and kill game on his own initiative, and he [686] was discovered, the soldiers would go to his camp and burn it and everything it contained, destroy any supplies he had, and break his dishes. They would spare only his life and the lives of his family. If he resisted he would get a severe whipping. If even after that he resisted them and took his gun and attempted to shoot, the soldiers would not do anything but stand ready. But the moment he made an attempt to shoot, they would kill him and nothing would be said of the matter, for they would be putting into effect the law of the tribe. If, on the other hand, the man submitted to the action of the soldiers and apologized they would make him a better lodge and would give him more and better things than those they had taken away.

## Fishing and Agriculture

226 *Fishing.*—In former times fishing seems to have been done exclusively by spearing or by shooting. The spear (*wocu'*) consisted of a long stick provided with a bone or a horn point. Spearing was done preferably at night with the aid of torches made of pine pitch. In shooting fish a long arrowlike stick (*ma"nuxinixni*) with a pointed end, whittled and frayed at the base like the ceremonial staff of the Bear clan, was discharged from an ordinary bow.

227 The most commonly used trap for fishing was a triangular weir loaded with a stone at its base and placed at the head of a waterfall caused by artificial damming of a stream.

784 226 Very few fish were taboo, the principal ones being the dogfish and the eel.

* By Thunder Cloud.

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, 224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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him from killing game. In the particular case mentioned above the spell was the following: A man killed a deer, and a pregnant woman ate a piece of the intestine. From that time on the man was unable to kill any more deer. 755 278 [224 843]

The above medicine is used to break the spell of ill luck in hunting caused by the following actions: If a man cohabits with a widow, or if one who is a widower eats together with another person, or if he smokes out of the same pipe as another person. Not only would the medicine free him from his ill luck in hunting, but it would give him good luck in cards and speed in running. [589]

Here is an astringent medicine. It is compounded of a mixture of the "clear" medicine and the "plant that spreads itself on the ground." It is used for the following purposes. As an application for swellings, for illness after childbirth, and for general sores and eruptions of the skin. In case of illness after childbirth it is injected. For sores, etc., it is taken internally. 757 278 [844]

Here is another medicine, called bladder medicine. It is made of the roots of a certain weed. These roots are boiled and then drunk. If one is troubled with stricture, the drinking of this medicine will enable him to pass water immediately. The same medicine is used to alleviate a toothache and to stop too profuse a menstrual flow. [841]

Now this is another medicine. It is made of the leaves of a certain plant. These leaves are rolled up and then drunk down with water. The medicine is used for all stomach complaints.

Here is another medicine used for diarrhea and dysentery. It is made from the roots of a plant that has many thorns and beautiful white blossoms. The roots are scraped and the scrapings boiled and gulped down. At least a pint of this concoction must be taken. It can also be used as a mouth wash for those troubled with sore mouths.

We have another medicine used to rid a person of superfluous bile. This acts as a strong physic and not only cures a person of his indisposition but also gives him a great appetite.

Here is another medicine. It is called the medicine for burns. It consists of the leaves of a certain weed that is dried. If anyone has a burn, he chews some of this dried weed and then applies it to the burn. [752]

Here is also a medicine for private diseases, compounded of the following:

1. Doxcu'tckera hara, red willow bark.
2. Ma'sixu'tckeda hara, English unknown.
3. Nap'a'hira hara, sharp tree.

These barks are pulverized and mixed together with skunk oil.

The next medicine I am going to describe is used in poisoning. It is called small-part-of-a-black-root-tree. It is used for many pur- 754 278

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed. 734

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [825]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction; and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body. 778 726 789

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed to hunting could kill game easily if they used it. 778 224

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a [244] 756 756 796

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867
787 will. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e. . . rises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wunaⁿtce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wunaⁿtce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to
787 go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[†]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[†] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 796X 539X
pulled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of 782
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562]
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231]
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554]
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726
blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224]
in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [225]
animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits [534]

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796X
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539X
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[342] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
[216] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[189] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize
[603] the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

1 [i.e., during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P-1, Category 116 -- Analyst]

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older brother and I would play around with them a great deal. We did this even although we were fasting at the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. Whenever our parents found out we got a scolding and so did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away from menstruating women, but we ourselves always sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges moved away and we were left alone. They moved far ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law went out hunting and killed seventy deer between them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back. We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge and our war-bundle [19] was placed in it. There my elder

[19] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winnebago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was supposed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk. Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



although the feast was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side of the main participants. After the kettles containing the food had been put on twice, it became daylight and the feast was over.

The following spring we moved to the Mississippi in order to trap. I was still fasting and ate only at night. My brothers used to flatter me, telling me that I was the cleverest of them all and, in consequence, I used to continue fasting although I was often very hungry. In spite of my desire to fast, however, I could not resist the temptation of being around the girls. I wanted always to be near them. They were generally in their menstrual lodges [12] when I looked for them. My parents did not wish me to go near the girls then but I went nevertheless.

My parents told me that only those boys who had no connection with women would be blessed by the spirits. Throughout this time my sole wish was to appear great in the sight of the people. To be praised by my fellowmen was all I desired. And I certainly received what I sought. I stood high in their estimation. That the women might like me was another of the reasons why I wanted to fast. But as to being blessed, I learned nothing about it, although I went around with the air of one who had received many blessings and talked as such a one would talk.

[12] Any contact with menstruating women, or even with objects in any way connected with them, will, it is the firm belief of the Winnebago, destroy the power of sacred objects or individuals temporarily sacred. Fasting youths were regarded as such.

## §11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I used to steal a great deal.

About springtime we always moved away from the vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place where my father intended to trap, generally to the neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys.

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a

*Shows*

I was drinking, he told me that he would treat me and the two women to beer that very night. I drank a lot of it that night and I enjoyed it immensely. After that, of course, I was not able to keep the fact of my drinking from other people. I talked at the top of my voice under the influence of liquor and was very happy. Every few minutes I would suddenly begin to sing out loudly. Then I began drinking whisky in addition to beer, and got drunk. On the following morning I said I would never do it again, but in a short time I was drinking beer again secretly. 159* 273

Eventually the show was over and we all went to our homes. We had to go across Lake Michigan. It was very stormy and we all got sick. Then my friend said, "Say, let us drink so that we may not be sick." He took out some whisky which he was carrying in a flask and we drank all night. Very early in the morning we got to Milwaukee. There we ate our breakfast and continued on our way home, to Black River Falls. We drank all the way on the train and when we reached our destination we were still drinking. All my relatives saw that I was drunk. They were very sorry and an older sister of mine wept when she saw me. I there made up my mind that I would never do it again. At about that time we received our annuity payment and although I had money I did not drink any more for some time. [657]

After we had spent what we had received in annuities the hunting season began. I went along with the others to the hunting grounds. I ran away from the two 159* 224

## *Crashing Thunder*

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[831] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
[189] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

7

## §20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.